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STRATFORD BUST AND DROESHOUT ENGRAVING

By SIR GEORGE GREENWOOD

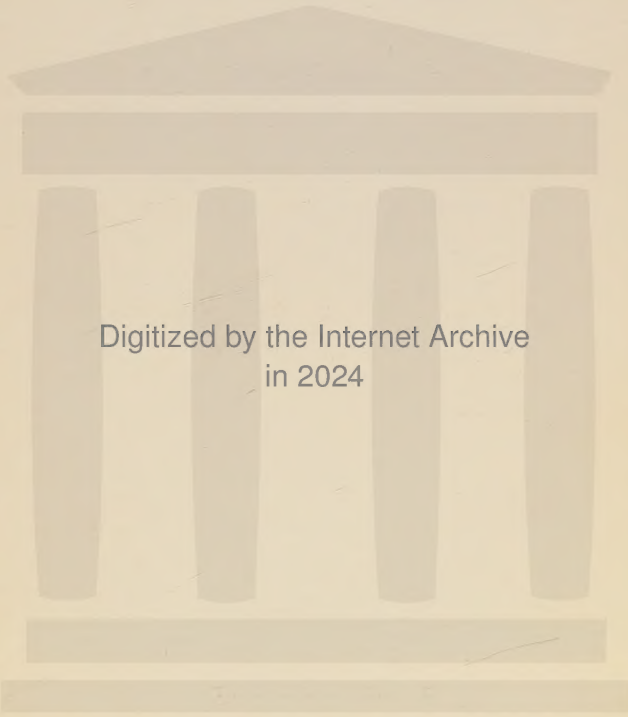
THIS book is written by way of reply to Mr. M. H. Spielman's recent work entitled "The Title-Page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays—A Comparative Study of the Droeshout Portrait and the Stratford Monument" 1924. Sir George Greenwood argues that the preposterous difference between the present Bust of Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon and the Engraving of the Bust in Sir William Dugdale's *Warwickshire* taken from the original sketch made by Sir William himself—now in the possession of his lineal descendant, Mr. W. F. S. Dugdale of Merevale Hall—cannot possibly be explained, as Mr. Spielman would explain it, by the alleged inaccuracy of Sir William, or by the inaccuracy of the Engraver of his sketch, whether Hollar or some other. This great dissimilarity Sir George maintains was brought about by the structural repairs done to the Monument, and more particularly to the Bust in the years 1748 and 1749. Among other things he directs particular attention to the dandified fashion of Shakespeare's Moustache as it appears in the present Bust, showing a shaven interval between the moustache and the nose, and a similar interval between the moustache and the upper lip—a fashion of wearing the moustache which is seen neither in the Droeshout Engraving nor in any other supposed portrait of Shakespeare. Sir George has not been able to find an engraving of any Englishman wearing a moustache so fashioned till the days of the later Stuarts, and he believes that this fashion was unknown among Englishmen till a date much later than 1616. But this argument though interesting and important is, of course, only one point out of many in this much contested case.

CECIL PALMER · LONDON



THE STRATFORD BUST
AND THE
DROESHOUT ENGRAVING

We have to acknowledge the generosity of
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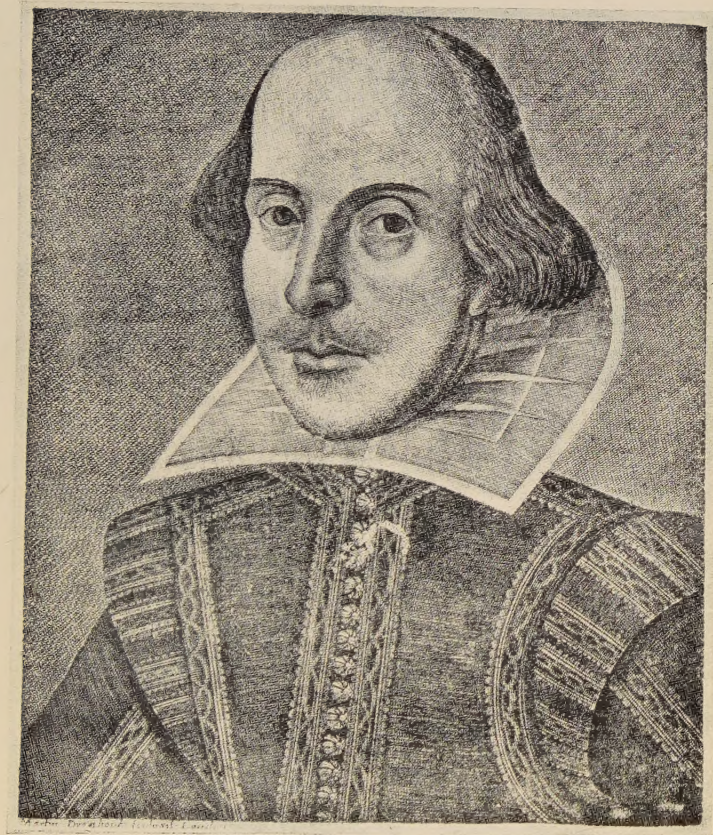


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THE STRATFORD BUST

LOOK HERE, UPON THIS
THE COUNTERFEIT PRES



THE DROESHOUT ENGRAVING

E, AND ON THIS,
T OF TWO SHAKESPEARES



THE STRATFORD BUST AND THE DROESHOUT ENGRAVING

By SIR GEORGE GREENWOOD

To have, when the original is dust,
A name, a wretched picture, and worse bust !
(Byron)



CECIL PALMER

49 CHANDOS STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON, W.C.2

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THE STRATFORD BUST AND THE DROESHOUT ENGRAVING

SOME twelve years ago, viz. in June, 1912, by kind permission of the Editor, I published in the *National Review* an article under title "The Dugdale Engraving of the Stratford Monument." Since that date, however, there has been much further discussion on this question, and on "Shakespeare" portraiture generally, and, in particular, Mr. Marion H. Spielmann, who has the reputation of being a first-rate authority on Shakespearean "Iconography," and who has from time to time contributed to various newspapers and magazines a large number of articles and letters concerning the portraits of Shakespeare (real or supposed), has recently published yet another work on the subject, which is, as he describes it, *A Comparative Study of the Droeshout Portrait and the Stratford Monument*.¹

Now some years since Mr. Spielmann wrote in the *Stratford Town Shakespeare* (Vol. X, p. 374): "I

¹ *The Title-Page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays. A Comparative Study of the Droeshout Portrait and the Stratford Monument.* By M. H. Spielmann. London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1924.

may say at once that a long and minute study of the portraits of Shakespeare in every medium and material has led me, otherwise hopeful as I was at the outset years ago, no distance at all towards the firm establishment of the reputation of any one of them as a true life portrait." And in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Ed.) he wrote: "Exhaustive study of the subject, extended over a series of years, has brought the present writer to the conclusion—identical with that entertained by leading Shakespearean authorities—that two portraits only can be accepted without question as authentic likenesses." And what are these two portraits? In the first place "the bust" in Stratford Church (which Mr. Spielmann, no doubt with good warrant, but contrary to general usage, speaks of as a "portrait") and the famous "Droeshout engraving."

And to this opinion Mr. Spielmann still adheres. "The mystery that," as he truly says, "veils so much in Shakespeare's genius, life, and work, involves also some aspects of his Iconography. It is probable that of Shakespeare more portraits have been painted, drawn, engraved, and modelled, than of any other uncrowned king of men. . . . The British Museum, it is true, according to its Catalogue, has only about 200 engraved portraits of the poet. The Grolier Club of New York, at its Tercentenary Exhibition in 1916, did better with about 450, including 50 each of the Bust and the Droeshout Plate. Many of us no doubt could have added scores to these. . . . And yet, of all these presentments only two portraits of the Poet can be regarded as authentic. . . . That greatly simplifies the problem. Yet neither is directly a life-portrait." The two "presentments" which can be "regarded as authentic" are the Stratford bust and

Martin Droeshout's print on the title-page of the First Folio.¹

The fact is, as I wrote some sixteen years ago, "that just as the utter dearth of information concerning Shakespeare tempted unprincipled men to deceive the public by forgery of documents purporting to supply new facts—such as John Jordan's fabrications, Ireland's wholesale forgeries, and the numerous forgeries promulgated by John Payne Collier—so the absence of any authentic portrait of Shakespeare prompted needy and unprincipled artists to supply the public demand, and their own necessities at the same time, by fabricating likenesses of 'the immortal bard'—all of them, of course, of undoubtedly contemporaneous date!"²

Well, we may be sincerely grateful to Mr. Spielmann for having "simplified the problem." We need no longer trouble about "The Chandos Portrait," or "The Janssen Portrait," or "The Felton Portrait," or "The Ely Portrait," or "the hopelessly unauthentic and discredited Kesselstadt Death-Mask,"³ or any other of the hundreds of counterfeit presentments of Shakespeare except the portrait in stone at Stratford and the engraving already alluded to. "For this relief much thanks!"

But now, with reference to the Stratford bust, we come at once to a matter which has given rise to a vast

¹ *Work cited*, pp. 1 and 2.

² *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (1908), p. 238. The reader who has not already done so will find it well worth while to consult the chapter "Concerning Mock Originals," in Mr. John Corbin's *A New Portrait of Shakespeare* (John Lane, 1903), more especially with regard to the methods employed by Messrs. Zincke & Holder in the wholesale manufacture of faked "Shakespeare" portraits.

³ See *work cited*, p. 12.

amount of discussion and disputation, and not a little heated language. It is well known that the famous antiquary Sir William Dugdale, in his *History of the Antiquities of Warwickshire*, gives us a picture of the Stratford monument which is the earliest known presentment of that Mecca-stone of many adoring pilgrims. This work was not published till 1656, but there is good evidence to show that the author prepared it, in the neighbourhood of Stratford-on-Avon, about the year 1634, and, unfortunately, the central figure in his picture of the monument differs in face, figure, position, and, in fact, in all respects from the central figure as we now see it at Stratford. It presents us with the bust of an elderly man, of a somewhat melancholy aspect, and with drooping moustaches, resting his hands upon a curious oblong cushion.

How are we to account for this extraordinary discrepancy? Mr. Spielmann puts the blame, in the first place, upon the engraver, whoever he may have been, whether Hollar, or, as he thinks more probable, Gaywood, one of Hollar's assistants, and "one of the ill-paid hacks employed by the publishers to engrave on brass or copper plates from sketches supplied to them" (p. 20); and he proceeds to give examples of the "engravers' disloyal indifference to accuracy," as illustrated by Hollar's engraving of the statue of Charles I looking to Whitehall, and also the very inaccurate engravings in Dugdale's work of the Carew and the Clopton monuments.

Now it must be freely admitted that these charges against the engravers of that time are fully justified. They are made good by Mr. Spielmann's illustrations, as they have been made good before. But this is a case where the blame cannot be thrown upon the engraver alone. That either he, or Dugdale himself,

was responsible for the faulty details of this engraving of the Stratford monument is, indeed, self-evident. I myself long ago pointed out, for example, that the little sitting figures in Dugdale's print, holding spade and hour-glass, "are placed as no monumental sculptor would be likely to place them."¹ But this is not a question of details, nor is it a question of mere carelessness on the part of Dugdale and his artist. For the fact is, that the original drawing for the engraving of Shakespeare's bust, as it appears in *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, was made by Sir William Dugdale himself, and is still in existence. For this valuable information I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. William F. S. Dugdale, of Merevale Hall, Atherstone, Warwickshire, the present representative of the celebrated antiquary, who, among the papers and manuscripts in his possession, discovered a manuscript book of Sir William Dugdale's—which he kindly allowed me to inspect—containing a number of his original notes and drawings prepared for the work in question. Here he lighted upon the original drawing made for the engraving as it appears in that work, and that this drawing was made by Sir William himself cannot admit of a doubt, being in his private manuscript book, and surrounded, as it is, by notes in his own handwriting. Moreover, although he did not profess to be an artist, Sir William could, at any rate, sketch well heraldically, as can be proved by many drawings in the possession of Mr. W. F. S. Dugdale. It was from this drawing that the artist, whether Hollar or some other, prepared the engraving, which is an exact copy of the sketch except that it corrects it where it is somewhat out of drawing. Over it is written, in Sir William's own handwriting, "In the

¹ *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, p. 247 note.

north wall of the Quire is this monument for William Shakespeare the famous poet," and, in another place, the inscription is written out in full, together with the inscriptions on the tombs of John and Susanna Hall. Above these is written the date, namely July, 1634, showing that it was in this year that these notes were made."¹

Now Dugdale was himself a Warwickshire man. He was well acquainted with Stratford-on-Avon. He was an admirer of the works of "Shakespeare." He himself made a drawing of the monument for his forthcoming work on *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, not caring to leave it to any of the "hacks employed by the publishers." Yet he presents us with a bust of Shakespeare which is absolutely unlike the effigy as it exists to-day—so preposterously unlike indeed that the absurdity of it would at once have been recognised by any Stratford man, or any of his Warwickshire or other contemporaries familiar with the church at Stratford.²

¹ Mr. Spielmann dismisses this important fact, which makes irrelevant most of his remarks on the inaccuracy of the engravers of that period, in the following curt footnote. "It is the fact that the original drawing for this engraving is extant and in the possession of a lineal descendant of Dugdale, and that the plate departs *in details* [my italics] from the sketch. Why? One of them, obviously, must be wrong. In truth, both are libels on the original." But both the "original drawing" and "the plate" agree with regard to the central figure, and to say that both are libels on the original merely assumes the point at issue.

² It is sometimes said in support of the authenticity of the bust as it now exists, that the personal appearance of William Shakspeare the player (assumed to be the author of the plays), must have been very well known at Stratford, and that no bust would have been set up there that did not bear a personal resemblance to him. But this argument applies

Are we not, then, driven to this conclusion, viz. that either the bust has been materially altered since the date of Dugdale's drawing, or the great antiquary must deliberately (but for no reason that can be suggested) have presented his readers with a false picture of it?

It seems impossible to contend, in such a case as this, that the preposterous discrepancy between the present bust and Dugdale's drawing of it is to be explained by the constant "inaccuracy" which Mr. Spielmann attributes to the antiquarian. No man could set himself to draw the Stratford bust as it at present exists and substitute Dugdale's sad-looking figure for the present stone "portrait" of a seemingly well-satisfied and contented man, with the dandified moustache (of which more anon), from mere "inaccuracy."

But, says Mr. Spielmann, "On many points on which I have consulted Dugdale—both text and illustrations—I have found him inaccurate on simple matters of fact. Not only does he assert that Combe's monument, close by, is of alabaster, whereas it is of sandstone, but, among other things, he transcribes inaccurately as to spelling the inscriptions on Shakespeare's monument and gravestone, and on the gravestones of the Shakespeare family in the chancel of the church" (p. 14).

Now with regard to the inscription on the gravestone, the fact seems to be that the original inscription was altered at some unknown date when the present inscription was substituted for it. But that is too long a story to be gone into here. As to the inscription on the monu-

with tenfold force to Dugdale's engraving, and the original bust if it was such as that engraving represents—*always assuming that the intention was to erect a bust which should resemble the player, and not some one else!*

ment, it may be well to note that the old antiquarian has been charged with inaccuracy in his Latin also, because the inscription under the *engraving* of the bust commences with the words "Judycio [*sic*] Pylum." But the words as written in his own handwriting, in his manuscript book, are correctly given, viz. "Judicio Pylum," etc., showing that the inaccuracy was not his but the engraver's. But what about his statement "that Combe's monument is of alabaster whereas it is of sandstone"?

Well, *humanum est errare*, but it really does not follow that a man is likely to make an absurdly and preposterously false copy of a bust in which he was especially interested, and to have that false copy engraved for all men to laugh at, in a great book upon which he might be said to have staked his reputation, because he has made a few inaccurate statements in a work involving an almost incredible amount of industry and labour, and, in particular, an inaccurate statement with regard to the material used in John Combe's monument.

Let us take Mr. Spielmann's own case, for example. Mr. Spielmann wrote in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (Dec. 6th, 1910): "When the chronicler avers that the bust, like the recumbent figure of John Combe, hard by Shakespeare's, is of alabaster, whereas they are both of local sandstone, *we may hesitate to accept unquestioned his authority on every other point.*"¹ And worse still, in his article on the "Portraits of Shakespeare" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Ed.) he repeated this statement, saying that Dugdale—"the accurate Dugdale," as he sarcastically calls him—tells us that Shakespeare's bust is of alabaster, whereas it is of soft stone.

¹ Italics mine.

Yet it turns out, upon investigation, that Dugdale nowhere makes the statement attributed to him by the critic, viz. that "Shakespeare's bust is of alabaster!" The "inaccuracy" is, in fact, Mr. Spielmann's! Yet I certainly would not say, on that account, that "we may hesitate to accept unquestioned his authority on every other point," any more than I would say that he is habitually inaccurate in his grammar because he turns the conjunction "than" into a preposition governing the accusative case!¹

With regard to the inaccuracies of the engravings of the Carew and Clopton monuments also—which certainly appear sufficiently ridiculous as they stand in Dugdale's book—there is something to be said, and it shall be said in the words of a witness whose entire "orthodoxy" on the matter of the "Shakespearean" authorship is beyond suspicion—none other, in fact, than the learned and industrious Mrs. Charlotte Stopes. This lady has also, through the courtesy of Mr. Dugdale of Merevale, inspected "the volume of Sir William Dugdale's Diary which contained his own special drawings for the tombs in Warwickshire Churches," with regard to which she writes as follows: "The greatest '*proof*' of Dugdale's inexactitude, so triumphantly brought forward by my opponents [viz., on the matter of the Shakespeare bust], is utterly extinguished by this volume. The drawing of the Carew Clopton monument does not appear in the Diary, which means that *the Clopton family, and not Dugdale, was responsible for its drawing and its inaccuracies.* He only drew those which had not been sent on to him by the families whom he had invited to do so. He evidently thought Shakespeare's monument, though

¹ "A much younger man *than him* of the bust" (p. 26) (my italics) and the same at p. 33.

not sent on, specially important, and did it carefully himself. The present Mr. Dugdale thinks, from its position in the volume, and from some notes in the Diary, that it therefore was one of the latest of the drawings before the final publication in 1656.”¹

Let us, however, frankly admit that there are numerous “inexactitudes” in Dugdale’s great book, as, indeed, was only to be expected in a work of such gigantic proportions—I allude not to its actual size, but to the enormous amount of labour involved in its compilation. I repeat, nevertheless, that to find an explanation of the absolute discrepancy between Dugdale’s own drawing of the bust and the bust as it at present exists in the church of Stratford-on-Avon, in mere “inaccuracy”—the wretched “seventeenth-century ideas of accuracy,” as Mr. Spielmann says—seems to me so repugnant to reason and probability that it can, surely, be accepted by those only who feel they must adopt any theory, however improbable, which may relieve them from the necessity of adopting the unpalatable hypothesis that, at some unknown date, the present bust was substituted for the original as seen and drawn by Dugdale.²

With regard to this supposed alteration of the original bust, I will say a word or two presently, but before passing on I would draw special attention to a

¹ *Shakespeare’s Environment*, by Mrs. C. C. Stopes (1914), p. 123. A work in which I must honestly own I find more to criticise than to agree with. See my *Is there a Shakespeare Problem?* (John Lane, 1916), Appendix C.

² It may be worth mentioning that Mrs. Stopes, by way of comparison, carefully examined Dugdale’s engraving of Sir Thomas Lucy’s monument in Stratford Church, and found it represented the original with substantial accuracy. His “inaccuracy” seems to have been specially reserved for “Shakespeare”!

remarkable feature in the bust as we see it to-day. Here we see the face of a man wearing a moustache shaven in a very peculiar and very "dandified" style. "In the normal face," as Mr. John Corbin writes, "the hair begins at the base of the nose, often in the very nostrils, and this is notably the case in the Droeshout engraving. In the bust there is a wide and very ugly interval."¹ And not only is there this interval between the base of the nose and the moustache, but there is a similar "shaven space," as Mr. Spielmann calls it, between the moustache and the upper lip, so that the moustache (which, by the way, is beautifully curled *en croc*, as the French style it) is very carefully separated both from the nose and the lip. In fact, it meanders elegantly between them.

Now in previous writings Mr. Spielmann had told us that this was merely a "long-prevailing fashion carried to an extreme," and that "certain portraits of other persons show the same thing."² He now, however, uses more guarded language. He characterises this style of shaving the moustache as "a fashion said to be not uncommon though by no means general at the time."³

But "said" by whom? This Mr. Spielmann fails to tell us. He presents us, however, with an engraving of "Maurice, Prince d'Orange, 1567-1625," in order "To illustrate the fashion of wearing the moustache as in the Shakespeare effigy."⁴

Now I have long been familiar with an engraving

¹ *A New Portrait of Shakespeare*, by John Corbin (John Lane, 1903), p. 28.

² See letter in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Feb. 21st, 1912, and article in the *Ency. Brit.*

³ *Work cited*, p. 10.

⁴ *Work cited*, Plate 7.

of Maurice, Prince of Orange, showing him with a moustache shaven in somewhat similar fashion to that of the Shakespeare bust—though by no means so carefully curled and dandified—for several such are to be seen in the Prints Department of the British Museum ;¹ but the question which I have frequently put, and to which I have never been able to obtain any satisfactory answer, is this : Is there any known print, engraving, or other portrait of *an Englishman*, before the year 1616, wearing a moustache shaven in this ridiculous style ? What evidence is there that it was “not uncommon” in this country at that date ? I have gone through a large number of prints and engravings of the period in question at the Museum, but I have never found an Englishman so shaven on the upper lip. And, surely, if Mr. Spielmann had known of any such portrait he would not have gone all the way to Holland for his illustration ! Further, I doubt very much whether any Official of the Prints and Engravings Department of the Museum could refer him to such a portrait.²

I am myself under the impression that this peculiar “fashion of wearing the moustache” never obtained among Englishmen until the time of the later Stuarts, and possibly not before the time of Charles II, when it was adopted by some of the Court dandies of that period.

If this hypothesis is correct, how came Shakespeare

¹ Note especially the one bearing the inscription “Henricus Hendius delin. et excudit Hagae Comit. 1630.”

² Here, however, I must strictly guard myself. I do not for a moment suggest that any official of the Museum supports my theory in this matter. They neither support it nor oppose it. They say, very naturally, we will put all the materials at your disposal for inspection, and you must make your own researches for yourself.

to be wearing such a moustache in the last few years of his life, or, indeed, at any time, for the matter of that? Are we to suppose that he copied this absurd fashion—and improved upon it—from Maurice, Prince of Orange, whom, so far as I know, he never saw?¹ And mark what a beautifully cut and trimmed and carefully shaped beard Shakespeare is wearing in the Stratford effigy—far more elegantly cut and shaped than that of Maurice, Prince of Orange!—and why are not these things, and especially this moustache, so fashioned, shown anywhere as appurtenant to Shakespeare except in this Stratford bust? How comes it that they are absent in the Droeshout engraving—that only other authentic portrait of “the Immortal Bard”—and in the Flower Portrait, and in the Chandos Portrait, and the Janssen Portrait, and the Felton Portrait, and all the other portraits, in which, although they are not “authentic,” the artist must be supposed to have endeavoured to represent a man of the type such as was ascribed to the great poet Shakespeare?

These questions are not frivolous ones. On the contrary they are questions of importance, but I have never yet heard an answer to them, unless it be the answer that the present bust is different from that which was originally placed in the Stratford monument, and is of a later date.²

Let us see, then, what can be said for the hypothesis that the Stratford bust was altered, or a new one substituted for the original in the year 1748 or 1749.

There is a very considerable and increasing number of persons, male and female—and good Anglo-Saxons

¹ He could not have seen him in Holland, since, according to Sir Sidney Lee and other authorities, “Shakespeare” never went out of England.

² See Note A at p. 51.

to boot—who love Shakespeare (and by “Shakespeare” I, of course, mean the plays and poems of “Shakespeare”) quite as much as, and perhaps considerably more than, Mr. Marion H. Spielmann, but who, for reasons which appear sufficient to them, have abandoned the traditional belief that the author of those plays and poems was, in truth and in fact, William Shakspeare, who came from Stratford to London in or about the year 1587, with regard to whom they entertain, for the most part, feelings of sympathy and interest, or it may be, in some cases, of indifference so far as he personally is concerned, but certainly with no feelings of hostility or dislike.

Now these persons Mr. Spielmann thinks it right and proper to characterise as “Shakespeare-haters” ! Well, we have all heard of the pugilist who, when asked why he allowed his wife to hit him in the face, replied, “It amuses her, and does not hurt me !” But to describe Shakespeare-lovers as Shakespeare-haters is such an obvious departure from the paths of veracity that I venture to think Mr. Spielmann might be satisfied in future by calling us “fools and fanatics,” and so forth, which from long habituation of course we could not object to, and which might, perhaps, as was the case with the pugilist’s wife, amuse *him*, without hurting *us* !

And, quite apart from the ineptitude of such a childishly silly characterisation, its injustice stands out naked and unashamed ; for, incredible as it may seem, in the same class as these so-called “Shakespeare-haters” Mr. Spielmann is constrained to include, so far as this matter is concerned, such an ardent and orthodox worshipper at the Stratfordian shrine as Mrs. Charlotte Carmichael Stopes ! For Mrs. Stopes it was who first set this ball rolling, to wit,

the theory that the Stratford Bust was altered when the monument was "repaired and beautified"—as it certainly was—in the years 1748-9.¹

Again, I say, therefore, let us see what evidence there is to support Mrs. Stopes's theory that the original Stratford bust was altered, or another substituted for it at some date considerably later than the erection of the monument, and probably in the middle of the eighteenth century; and let us, as lovers of Shakespeare, and "haters" not, certainly, of Shakespeare but of prejudice, misrepresentation, and intolerance, examine that evidence without *parti pris* and with an impartial mind.

Who erected the Stratford monument, and when, and at whose cost? Nobody knows. The mystery which, as Mr. Spielmann says, surrounds so much of Shakespeare's life and work, extends to this monument also. All we can say is that there must have been some sort of monument to Shakespeare, either existing or, at least, projected, in Stratford Church in 1623 when the First Folio was published, for in his lines to W. Shakespeare, prefixed to that immortal work, Leonard Digges speaks of the poet's "Stratford monument." But the question is: Is the monument, and more especially the bust, as they are now to be seen at Stratford, identical with those that were originally placed there, or was the original altered, and if so, when, and by whom?

Now nobody, so far as I know, has ever contended that the whole monument has been altered, or that another has been erected in the place of the original.

¹ See her able and copiously illustrated article in the *Monthly Review* of April, 1904, subsequently reprinted in a pamphlet bearing title *The True Story of the Stratford Bust* (John Murray, 1904).

The question at issue is practically confined to the bust. Is it possible to absolve Sir William Dugdale of such gross inaccuracy as almost amounts to fraud ? Is it possible that the central figure was in his time as he drew it, and as he had it engraved ? *C'est là la question.*

Now Mrs. Stopes discovered in the Wheler Collection at Stratford-on-Avon certain MSS. of the Rev. Joseph Greene, Master of the Grammar School, written in September, 1746, from which we learn that "as the curious original monument and bust" of the poet, "erected above the tomb that enshrines his dust¹ [*sic*] in the Church of Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, *is through length of years and other accidents become much impaired and decayed,*"² an offer had been made by Mr. John Ward, the grandfather of the celebrated Mrs. Siddons, and his company, to act *Othello*, in the Town Hall, on September 9th, 1746, the receipts of which were "to be solely appropriated to the *repairing* of the original monument aforesaid"; and there is a "copy of an old play-bill, at the time of *repairing* and *beautifying*"² Shakespeare's monument, with the Rev. Joseph Greene's remarks on the performers."

Ultimately it was agreed that the execution of the work should be committed to "Mr. John Hall, Limner," and it is contended by Mr. Spielmann, as it was also contended by Mr. Andrew Lang, that all Hall had to do was to repaint, and do certain superficial restoration. "If anything," says Mr. Spielmann, in his reply to Mrs. Stopes (*Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 6th,

¹ Shakspeare's "tomb" at Stratford, it need hardly be said, is a cenotaph. His dust lies, or is said to lie, beneath the gravestone close by.

² My italics See Note B at p. 58.

1910), "beyond surface restoration and painting of the bust were needed, the work would hardly have been committed, as it was, to John Hall, *Limner* . . . only the removal of discoloration on the monument, re-stopping and binding together of loose joints, and the decay of the pigment in the bust, would constitute the necessary repairs, and this labour would well represent the expenditure of £12 10s. which we are told was paid for the work." So also in his recent work Mr. Spielmann writes: "John Hall, a painter, was employed for the renovation; but when we look into the history of that renovation, naïvely put forward by the main supporters of the new theory, and accepted by the blind followers of it, we find that the amount raised from the *Othello* performance was no more than £12 10s., and that the *repairs* which were effected after two years of wrangling, are supposed to have resulted in this fine new marble monument and carved stone bust for that paltry sum!"

Now upon this it may be remarked: Firstly, that, so far as I know, nobody contends that a "fine new marble monument" was erected at the date in question, and in the absence of such a contention—in which I, certainly, should have no part or lot—it appears to me that Mr. Spielmann greatly overstates his case. And, secondly, it appears that £12 10s. was not the whole amount paid to John Hall for his work on this occasion, for we find that the contributors to the fund had previously agreed that "we will also use our endeavours that such further money shall be collected and given him as, with the former collections, may make up the whole sum of sixteen pounds." Moreover, we find that Mr. John Ward, writing to Mr. Joseph Greene in November, 1748, says that he will "readily come into any proposal to make good the sum for the use

intended [viz. the reparation of the monument] if what is already in the churchwardens' hands should prove deficient."¹ And, thirdly, when we add to all this the consideration that money at that date was worth six or eight times what it is now, it will be seen that the amount paid for the repair of the monument was not such a "paltry sum" as Mr. Spielmann suggests, after all.

In the above-quoted letter of John Hall, written in November, 1748, it is to be noted that he says he intends to pay a visit to Stratford "next summer," when he hopes to have the pleasure of seeing the monument completely finished, from which we may conclude that the work upon it was not actually completed till the year 1749, although John Ward's company had given their performance of *Othello*, the receipts of which were duly handed over to the churchwardens, in September, 1746.

Now what was the reason of this delay? I think it is fairly obvious from the documents, which show that there was no little disagreement between the Rev. Joseph Greene, the Master of the Grammar School, and the Rev. Mr. Kenwick, the Vicar of Stratford, with regard to the amount of discretion which should be given to John Hall in the matter of repairing the monument. Greene was for giving him a pretty free hand in the work of "repairing and beautifying," while the good vicar was for restricting his operations. Thus we read of "a form proposed by Mr. Greene to the gentlemen at the Falcon, but rejected by Mr. Kenwick who thought it did not sufficiently limit what was to be done by Mr. Hall, as did a form which he himself had drawn up" (Nov. 30th, 1748,) and I think it may reasonably be concluded that when it

¹ See *Shakespeare's Environment*, p. 349.

was at last agreed "That Mr. John Hall, Limner, shall *repair and beautify, or have the direction of repairing and beautifying*, the original monument of Shakespeare the poet," Greene had carried his point, and that John Hall was given a considerably wider limit than what the vicar had considered to be desirable. It is to be noted here that, according to a form drawn up for signature by the contributors, but which appears never to have been signed by them, the money subscribed was to be paid to Hall "provided he takes care, according to his ability, that the monument shall become as like as possible to what it was when first erected." It seems clear that this is the pledge for which Mr. Kenwick contended, and if, as I gather from the documents quoted by Mrs. Stopes, this form was only proposed for signature, but not in fact signed, that circumstance appears to constitute pregnant evidence in favour of those who believe that the alterations of 1748-9 were not "confined to such matters as repainting, and the re-stopping and binding together of loose joints," etc. Moreover, if it had been a mere question of recoloration there would have been no need to stipulate that "the monument shall *become* [*sic*] as like as possible to what it was when first erected." But, apparently, even that pledge was not given.

Let us now turn to what is said on this subject by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps. But here I must promise that I should always be very reluctant to accept any statement made by this Shakespearean critic, on any controversial matter, unless it is supported by extrinsic evidence. As, however, he is cited as a reliable witness by Mr. Spielmann, as will presently be seen, his testimony with regard to the repairs executed on the monument must by no means be omitted.

Now it is remarkable that Halliwell-Phillipps in his

Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare says nothing at all on this subject. But in his *Works of Shakespeare*, a monumental work in sixteen ponderous volumes, he makes, in Vol. I, some interesting observations both on the Dugdale engraving and on the monument. As to the engraving, he gives it the go-by with very few words. He, of course, rejects it as inaccurate and untrustworthy. He informs us, however, that it is by Hollar, being thus in disagreement with Mr. Spielmann so far as this particular is concerned. As to the monument, he writes: "A person who visited Stratford a few years after the restoration by Hall (1749), after observing that he could not discover a single person of the name of Shakespeare in Stratford, says, 'his monument, the sexton's wife told me, had been very much neglected, and had a lamentable appearance, till about five years since, when Ward's company of comedians repaired and beautified it from the produce of a benefit play exhibited for that purpose'" (Vol. I, p. 232). Then, with reference to the work executed upon it, when it was "repaired and beautified," he writes: "The material of the bust itself, and of the cushion on which it rests, is a limestone of blue tint; the columns on either side are of black polished marble, and the capitals and bases belonging to them are composed of freestone. *The whole of the entablatures were formerly of white alabaster, but when the monument was repaired in 1749, the architraves being decayed, new ones of marble were substituted*" (Vol. I, p. 227. My italics.)

Now if this statement is accepted, it proves conclusively that the work executed in 1748-9 was by no means confined to repainting and petty superficial repairs. On the contrary, it bears witness to a certain amount of structural alteration. "Hall," says Mr.

Spielmann (*Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 6th, 1910), "was a painter pure and simple." If so, clearly he was not the man to remove the decayed architraves, and to substitute new entablatures of marble in lieu of the old ones of white alabaster ! For this, obviously, a stone-mason and sculptor was required, and it seems that, after all, Mrs. Stopes was in all probability right when she postulated a "sculptor who collaborated with Hall."

But here a rather curious point arises. Commenting on this passage in Halliwell's great work, which I had discovered and quoted, Mr. Spielmann some considerable time ago (I have not the reference at hand, but I think it was in the *Pall Mall Gazette*) observed, with regard to the monument, "Behold, there are no entablatures !"

Now an "entablature" is—at any rate in classic architecture—"the superstructure which lies horizontally upon the columns, and is divided into *architrave*, the part immediately above the column ; *frieze*, the central space ; and *cornice*, the upper projecting mouldings ;"¹ and I presume that Halliwell's statement bears reference to this superstructure above the columns of Shakespeare's monument, though whether he was right in dignifying it with the name of "entablature," and whether he is right in speaking of "entablatures," I confess, being unlearned in such matters, I should not venture to pronounce. In Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, however, I read the following : "The poet's monument in Stratford Church was in tablet form and was coloured in accordance with contemporary practice. It presents a central arch flanked by two Corinthian columns which support a cornice

¹ I quote from T. H. Parker's "Concise Glossary" of Architectural Terms

and *entablature* . . . over the centre of the entablature is a block of stone, on the surface of which the poet's arms and crest are engraved."¹

Anyhow, it is quite clear that, according to Halliwell-Phillipps, when the monument was repaired in 1749, some part of the superstructure above the columns (which he calls the "entablature"), and which was "formerly of white alabaster," was removed, owing to decay, and "marble" was substituted for it.

If, then, Mr. Spielmann rejects this testimony as untrustworthy, he is hardly entitled to ask us to accept Halliwell-Phillipps's unsupported statement on another matter, as that of an undoubtedly reliable witness.

So far, therefore, we have evidence that the repairs done to the monument in 1749 were not limited to a painter's work, but included a certain amount of structural alteration. It must be frankly admitted, however, that, so far as I know, no direct evidence can be found to support the hypothesis that the bust was altered at that time, or, possibly, a new one substituted for an old one, which, in the words of the sexton's wife, "had been very much neglected and had a lamentable appearance." *That* is only a presumption, founded on the clear evidence of some structural alteration, and on the fact that Dugdale had drawn and caused to be engraved a figure—cer-

¹ *Life*, pp. 297-8. Sir Sidney further quotes Mrs. Stopes: "The pillars were of marble, the ornaments were of alabaster" (*Shakespeare's Environment*, pp. 117-18). It is rather remarkable that although the crest or cognizance said to have been assigned to "Shakespeare" was "a falcon his wings displayed argent, supporting a spear gold steeled," the bird on the monument appears to be much more like a dove than a falcon! See Spielmann, Plate 6, and cf. the very different crest as depicted in each volume of the "Temple Shakespeare."

tainly of "lamentable appearance"—which differs entirely from the existing bust of Shakespeare.

But here steps in Mr. Spielmann with evidence which he conceives to be conclusive against Dugdale, and to establish the identity of the existing bust with that which was placed in the monument when it was first erected.

It is well known that Rowe, Shakespeare's "earliest biographer" (so-called), in the edition of his *Life of Shakespeare*, published in 1709, presents us with an engraving of the bust which is practically identical with Dugdale's. But then, it is said, Rowe did not go to Stratford himself; he merely copied Dugdale. This, of course, may be the fact. I would notice, however, in passing, that Rowe did not copy the inscription which is on Dugdale's engraving, for there we read (evidently through the fault of the engraver, since it is not in Dugdale's own drawing) the words "Judycio Pylum," which Rowe corrects by reading "Judicio Pylum." He did not, therefore, copy the Dugdale engraving in all particulars.

But, then, says Mr. Spielmann, look at George Vertue's engraving of 1723. This "presents the monument to us pretty well *exactly as it is to-day*¹—all except the head"! And what about the head? Why "the so-called scrupulous Vertue . . . coolly places the head of the Chandos portrait—the popular portrait of the day—on the shoulders of the effigy!" And, further, "he daintily places impossible burning tapers in the boys' hands, as more likely than arrow and hour-glass." Otherwise, however, Vertue's monument is "pretty well exactly" as we see it to-day. "But the deadly thing," writes Mr. Spielmann, "is that this engraving, which was done for Tonson in

¹ Original italics.

1723, or twenty-five years *before* the alleged 'radical reconstruction' of the monument, which is pretended to have occurred in 1748,"¹ shows us the architectural proportions, the mantling, the seated cherubs, the brackets (instead of feet), and, above all, "the figure with its hands ready to write upon a cushion," just as to-day.

This, certainly, is an argument of some weight. For an engraving of 1723, showing a figure with hands upon a cushion ready to write, a pen in the right hand, and a sheet of paper beneath the left hand, as now, not to mention the other similarities mentioned by Mr. Spielmann, undeniably raises the presumption that a figure closely resembling, if not identical with, the present figure in the monument was there some twenty-five years before the work of "repairing and beautifying" was done in 1748, and this even although Vertue's figure differs in one amazing particular from the present figure owing to the fact that the "Chandos" head has been substituted for the head of the figure as we now see it.

What answer has Mrs. Stopes to make to this? I will give it in her own words. "In Pope's edition of 1725 we find a remarkable variation. Vertue did not go to Stratford but to Rowe for his copy. Finding it so very inartistic, he *improved* the monument, making the little angels light-bearers rather than bearers of spade and hour-glass, and instead of the bust he *gives a composition from the Chandos portrait*, altering the

¹ I do not know who speaks of the "radical reconstruction of the monument" which Mr. Spielmann marks as a quotation. Mrs. Stopes writes: "Whoever the sculptor was who so much *improved* the figure, it is more than likely he restored the face by the aid of some cement" (*Shakespeare's Environment* (1914), p. 112. See also Note ², p. 30).

arms and hands [i.e. of the assumed original], and adding a cloak, pen, paper, and desk. It retains, however, the drooping moustache and slashed sleeves."¹

If this explanation be adopted, we must assume that those who repaired and altered the monument in 1748-9 took their inspiration, to some extent at least, from the bust as depicted by Vertue in 1725, and from Gravelot's similar version in Hanmer's edition of 1744, which, says Mrs. Stopes, is "mainly copied from Vertue, and followed by the restorers of the Bust in 1746-8," and finding the existing figure both suffering from the lapse of time and "very inartistic," altered it so as to produce the bust as we now see it."²

I must leave the reader to form his own opinion as to the value of this reply to Mr. Spielmann. The engraving of 1725 certainly seems a somewhat formidable obstacle in the way of Mrs. Stopes's hypothesis. On the other hand, it seems very improbable not only that Dugdale should have drawn such a preposterously false representation of the bust as Mr. Spielmann charges him withal, but also that Vertue, or anybody else, should, while purporting to give an accurate engraving of the monument, have obliterated the head *as it now exists* by substituting the head of the Chandos portrait!

¹ *The True Story of the Stratford Bust* (John Murray, 1904), p. 9. "It is curious," writes Mrs. Stopes, "that none of the other editions of the eighteenth century reproduce the tomb [she means, of course, the monument] either as Vertue or Gravelot rendered it." She describes the Vertue engraving as "a purely imaginary version."

² "Whoever the sculptor was," writes Mrs. Stopes, "who so much *improved* the figure, it is more than likely he reconstructed the face altogether" (p. 10). She presents us with copies of both the Vertue and the Gravelot engraving.

But Mr. Spielmann has yet another string to his bow, for "in the Whitechapel Shakespearean and Theatrical Exhibition of 1910, a little picture was lent by the late Earl of Warwick, *showing the monument practically as it is to-day.*"¹ "The painting," he tells us, "is 19 inches high by 13 wide." "I obtained," he says, "permission to photograph it, and I found, pasted on the back, a label with the following inscription signed by Halliwell-Phillipps: 'This old painting of the monumental effigy of Shakespeare is a great curiosity, being the one painted by Hall *before he re-coloured the bust* in 1748. The letters proving this are in the possession of Richard Greene Esqr., F.S.A., who presented them some years ago to *Fraser's Magazine*. I purchased the picture of Mr. Greene, who is the lineal descendant of the Rev. Joseph Greene of Stratford, the owner of the painting of about 1770. J. O. Halliwell'—(that is to say Halliwell-Phillipps)." And, says Mr. Spielmann, "I think we can leave the matter there."

But, with all respect, I think it would be very unsatisfactory to "leave the matter there." In the first place it is to be noted that the allegation that this little picture was painted by Hall *before he re-coloured the bust in 1748* rests (apart from "the letters" alluded to, as to which a word anon) entirely upon the statement signed by "J. O. Halliwell," i.e. Halliwell-Phillipps as he afterwards became. Now Mr. Spielmann asks us here to accept the testimony of Halliwell-Phillipps as that of a witness of indisputable accuracy. Yet he himself declines, as it appears, to accept the evidence of this witness when he bears testimony to the structural alterations of the Stratford monument

¹ Original italics. See p. 24 of Mr. Spielmann's work, and his Plate 16 fronting that page.

made in 1748-9. But, as every lawyer knows, counsel cannot both impeach the evidence of a witness on one matter and at the same time ask the jury to accept it as unimpeachable on another matter ; or if he does so he stands in great danger of losing his verdict.

Now Halliwell-Phillipps is, certainly, not a witness of unimpeachable accuracy. In the present case he tells us that he " purchased the picture of Mr. Greene, who is the lineal descendant of the Rev. Joseph Greene of Stratford, the owner of the painting of about 1770." He does not inform us at what date he purchased it. He calls the Rev. Joseph Greene " the owner of the painting of about 1770." What does that mean—" the painting of about 1770 " ? It really seems not a little difficult to say. We are told that the painting in question was done some forty-two years—or " about " forty-two years—before that date. And the letters " proving " that this picture was painted by Hall *before he re-coloured the bust* are said to be at the time of Halliwell-Phillipps's inscription " in the possession of Richard Greene Esqr., F.S.A., who presented them some years ago to *Fraser's Magazine*." But if Richard Greene had presented these letters to *Fraser's Magazine* some years before the date of this inscription, it seems not a little strange that they should have been still in his possession at that date ! Where are these letters now ? *Fraser's Magazine* has long ago disappeared, but possibly some one may know what has become of these evidentiary letters, in the absence of which Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's inscription has but very little weight. For decidedly the unsupported statements of that Shakespearean enthusiast are not to be accepted as undoubtedly veracious. Perhaps the present Earl of Warwick might help us, or, possibly, Mr. Spielmann

might be able to throw some further light upon the history of this remarkable little picture.

Suppose, for instance, that Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps was—unconsciously of course—guilty of a slight inaccuracy, or that he had been wrongly informed! Suppose that John Hall painted this little picture—if, indeed, he did paint it—not “before” but *after* he re-coloured the Stratford bust! That is an entirely possible supposition, and, if such was the fact, the picture, it is needless to say, has no value at all in support of Mr. Spielmann’s case. We really cannot accept statements as undoubted facts upon no better evidence than this.

And now let us look at the picture itself, as Mr. Spielmann presents it to us. If it was really painted by John Hall he must have been a very inaccurate “limner”! Look first at the “details.” Look at the “boys”—we cannot call them “cherubs”!—on the top of the monument. The boy on the left holds out his leg like a young lady of the present day at a garden party—quite unlike the attitude of the boy on the left of the monument as it exists to-day—while he rests his left hand on a skull, which is conspicuous by its absence on the present monument. The boy on the right, also, who extends his leg in a similar manner, is quite unlike the boy on the right of the monument as we now see him. And as to the skull at the top, it is a grotesque pantomime image emerging very absurdly from the apex of an unsightly pyramid. Let the reader compare all these details with those that he will find presented for our edification, as now existing on the monument, in Mr. Spielmann’s Plate No. 6.

Let us, however, pass from “details” to the central figure of “Shakespeare” itself, as represented in this

picture "of great curiosity." We shall see, in the first place, the head of a gentleman quite unlike our "Shakespeare" of the existing Stratford bust. Moreover, whereas the present bust looks one straight in the face, Hall's "Shakespeare"—if Hall's it is—is turning his head to the right, so as to present himself almost in profile. It is true that his right hand holds a pen, but what has become of the left hand? In the bust, as we now see it, the left hand lies very conspicuously on a sheet of paper which rests upon a cushion. In Hall's picture there is little or nothing to be seen of the cushion, and the left hand of the figure has disappeared, paper and all. In fact, it is non-existent.

One can only say that if Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's "inscription" is not more trustworthy than this picture, said to have been painted by John Hall, very little reliance can be placed upon it. And, after all, it seems much more probable that Hall should have painted the monument—if, indeed, he did paint it—*after* rather than *before* he had helped to "repair and beautify" it. If it was done before what Mr. Spielmann terms the "misalleged reconstruction" of 1748, and *if it was an accurate drawing of the bust as it existed at that time*, then, certainly, a new head was placed upon the bust after that date! Moreover, according to the evidence of the sexton's wife of Stratford, as noted by a person cited by Halliwell-Phillipps himself as a reliable witness, the monument before 1748 "had been very much neglected and had a lamentable appearance," which certainly does not appear in the "little picture" shown in Mr. Spielmann's Plate No. 16, nor is it very likely that Hall would care to paint a neglected monument of "a lamentable appearance." On the whole it appears

to me much more probable that Hall—if he was the artist—painted an inaccurate picture of the monument—for inaccurate it certainly is—*after* he had taken part in the repairing and recoloration thereof. Perhaps, therefore, we can now “leave the matter here,” at any rate until those mysterious “letters” are produced.

Mr. Spielmann’s arguments, then, when closely examined, seem to leave the case very much *in statu quo ante*. At the same time it must be frankly admitted that the verdict on Mrs. Stopes’s contention, viz. that the present bust really dates from the year 1748–9, must be that of “Not proven,” although there appears to be strong probability in its favour.¹

Perhaps, however, the strongest evidence in support of the contention that the present bust is of much later date than is generally assigned to it, consists in the peculiar fashion of shaving the moustache, to which I have already drawn attention, and which I believe did not come into vogue in this country—so far as it *did* come into vogue at all—till the time of Charles I, or, more probably, Charles II.

And now what of the bust itself? Well, *de gustibus non est disputandum*. Mr. Spielmann cites the names of some distinguished persons, from Chantrey to “Mr. Arthur Benson, of to-day,” who, as he tells us, were great admirers of this effigy.² He, however, at once

¹ See Note B at p. 58.

² Mr. Spielmann cites Matthew Arnold as having been a great admirer of the present Stratford bust, quoting, from his well-known sonnet to “Shakespeare,” the words, “Thou smilest and art still, Out-topping knowledge.” It does not much matter whether Matthew Arnold was or was not a great admirer of the bust, but I cannot think that when he wrote this famous sonnet, beginning “Others abide our question, Thou art free,” he had in mind the Stratford effigy

proceeds to demonstrate that Chantrey's judgment can have but little weight in this matter, for "Chantrey believed it to be from a death-mask, for the reason that the raised lip shows a contraction of muscle which suggests *rigor mortis*—as if any sculptor, however unskilful, would be fool enough deliberately to introduce into a bust, purporting to represent a living and obviously a robust and humorous-minded man, a corpse's rigidity!"

But many others, ardent and orthodox "Stratfordians" though they be, have found little indeed to admire in this effigy. Sir Sidney Lee (e.g.) writes: "The Stratford bust is a clumsy piece of work. The bald domed forehead, the broad and long face, the plump and rounded chin, the long upper lip, the full cheeks, the massed hair about the ears, combine to give the burly countenance a mechanical and unintellectual expression."¹ Mrs. Stopes—the learned, industrious, and devoted Mrs. Stopes—writes as follows: "Every one who approaches the Stratford bust is more disappointed in it as a revelation of the poet than even in the crude lines of Droeshout. There is an entire lack of the faintest suggestion of poetic or spiritual inspiration in its plump earthliness . . . The pen strives to write 'this is a literary man,' but there is nothing to support the attribution," and she further refers to "the intensely disappointing

at all. He was, I apprehend, thinking solely of the mysterious author of the plays and poems of "Shakespeare," the man who, as he says, did "tread on earth unguess'd at"—"planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea, making the heaven of heavens his dwelling-place." Let any impartial man look at the Stratford bust, and ask himself if it suggests to him the words "Thou smilest and art still, Out-topping knowledge"!

¹ *Life of Shakespeare* (1915), p. 524.

nature of this supposed simulacrum of the poet."¹

Mr. Spielmann himself refers to "the curious, and at first sight stupid, aspect of the bust," though how an "aspect" which is stupid at first sight loses its stupidity at "second sight" he fails to make clear to the ordinary human understanding.

No doubt an enthusiastic and adoring admirer of the Works of Shakespeare, looking at the effigy in Stratford Church with the eye of faith, and believing it to be a true and faithful representation of "the Immortal Bard," would be prone to see in it what he naturally expects to find—the beautiful intellectual face which he associates with the author of those magnificent and immortal works; but my firm belief is that a really impartial judge could not do otherwise than subscribe to the verdict of such faithful apostles of the "Orthodox" tradition as Sir Sidney Lee and Mrs. Stopes in this matter.²

It remains to say a word concerning the Droeshout engraving prefixed to the First Folio.

Here we must, in the first place, express our grati-

¹ "The True Story of the Stratford Bust," *Monthly Review*, Ap. 1904, p. 153. (Subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form.)

² Let the reader compare Mr. Spielmann's Plate 9 ("The Stratford Monument—The Effigy") with his Plate 45, showing the idealised bust on the Heminge and Condell Memorial, in St. Mary the Virgin churchyard, Aldermanbury, by Professor C. J. Allen. He will then realise the necessity which the talented sculptor felt himself to be under to substitute a manly, dignified, and handsome face (albeit still wearing the ridiculously shaven moustache) for the heavy, sensuous, and "stupid aspect" of the Stratford bust. It is a fine head, but we may rest assured that it is no more the true head of "Shakespeare" than is that unfortunate original, the "plump earthliness" of which is so much deplored by Mrs. Stopes.

tude to Mr. Spielmann for lending the weight of his authority to a proposition which, after consideration of the picture in question and the evidence concerning it, has long seemed quite obvious to many of us, viz. that the "Flower Portrait" was not "the Droeshout original," as some persons have conceived it to be, but the work of some later artist who desired to correct the faults and imperfections of the unfortunate Droeshout print, and to furnish the world with a more presentable representation of that great poet and dramatist who is "not of an age but for all time."

And what of the Droeshout engraving itself? Here again we must remember the adage *De gustibus non est disputandum*; but, for my part, I can never understand how any unprejudiced person, with a sense of humour, can look upon it without being tempted to irreverent laughter. Not only is it, as many have pointed out, and as is apparent even to the untrained eye, altogether out of drawing; not only is the head preternaturally large for the body; not only is it quaintly suggestive of an unduly deferred razor; but it looks at one with a peculiar expression of sheepish oafishness which is irresistibly comic. It might do excellently well as signboard of "The Shakespeare Arms," but that this woodeny thing, with its hydrocephalous forehead, straight lank hair bunched over the ears, and idiotic stare, should do duty as the counterfeit presentment of the world's greatest poet, though provocative of human smiles, is really calculated to "make the angels weep."

Sir Sidney Lee writes: "The face is long and the forehead high; the one ear which is visible is shapeless; the top of the head is bald, but the hair falls in abundance over the ears. There is a scanty moustache and a thin fringe of hair under the lower lip . . .

the dimensions of the head and face are disproportionately large as compared with those of the body."

Mrs. Stopes speaks of "the inartistically designed and coarsely executed engraving of Droeshout," and adds, truly enough, that in the reproduction which appeared as frontispiece to Shakespeare's Poems in 1640, the engraver Marshall "increased the inanity of the expression." "Inanity" is quite the right word for that particular expression of face which appears in the engraving.

Mr. Spielmann cites Mr. Arthur Benson, who is, as he had told us on an earlier page, an admirer of the bust (p. 9), as speaking of the "horrible hydrocephalous development of the skull in the engraving" (p. 32). But, after all, any ordinary person of sane mind who has eyes and understanding is, or ought to be, competent to judge in this case.

As to Jonson's well-known lines concerning this ridiculous caricature, it is not necessary to discuss them here. I will, therefore, content myself with quoting what Professor A. W. Pollard has written on the matter: "If his (Jonson's) lines on Droeshout's portrait are compared with their subject, we may well be inclined to wonder whether he had seen the very doubtful masterpiece at the time that he wrote them" (*Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 1909, p. 122). I might add, however, the following words from Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare* (1915, p. 528): "Jonson's testimony does no credit to his artistic discernment; the expression of countenance is neither distinctive nor lifelike."

Well, if Jonson wrote his well-known lines "To the Reader," facing this all-too-remarkable Droeshout print which appears on the title-page of the First Folio, without having seen the supposed portrait of

Shakespeare, as Mr. Pollard suggests, but nevertheless bearing testimony to the excellence of the likeness, one can only say that Jonson's evidence, both here and elsewhere, so far as "Shakespeare" is concerned, must be received with many "grains of salt." And at this conclusion I long ago arrived for reasons which the exigencies of space do not allow me to go into here.¹

But, says Mr. Spielmann, "Whether or not Ben Jonson meant quite what he said—he repentantly admits that he was formerly sometimes to blame in this matter²—the fact remains that the print was issued in an expensive memorial edition of Shakespeare's work, issued at £1 (say, some £6 or £7 of our money to-day) by Shakespeare's fellow-actors, and dedicated to two of the greatest noblemen of the realm, high personages at Court and in Society, who had known the Poet and were perfectly familiar with his appearance" (p. 31).

Now that the First Folio was really "issued" by those "deserving men," Messrs. Heminge and Condell, is, as I submit with entire confidence, a mere fable, however much it may find acceptance with "orthodox" credulity. However, let that pass. What I desire to call attention to is the enormous

¹ See my *Ben Jonson and Shakespeare* (Cecil Palmer, 1921).

It must be remembered that we have now the highest "orthodox" authority for saying that Jonson wrote both the Folio Prefaces. "Of that," writes the distinguished Shakespearean, Professor Felix Schelling, "there can be no doubt whatever." See "The Seedpod of Shakespeare Criticism," report of an address delivered at Houston Hall, Pennsylvania, by Dr. Felix Schelling, Jan., 1920.

² Unfortunately Mr. Spielmann does not tell us where Jonson makes this repentant admission.

importance which appears to be attributed by such critics as Mr. Spielmann to the fact that the Folio was actually dedicated to that "Incomparable Pair of Brethren," the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Montgomery. These critics, including many "men of letters" of the present day, who bear distinguished names, seem to imagine that such a dedication was something quite unique; that only the works of Shakespeare were considered worthy of such high honour, or were in fact so honoured. They appear to be quite ignorant that many books, both before and after the date of the Folio, were dedicated to these two Earls. Let me give a few instances: "*A World of Wonders*; a preparation treatise to the Apologie for Herodotus"; London, imprinted for John Norton, 1607, and dedicated to "the Rt. Hon. Lords William Earle of Pembroke and Philip Earle of Montgomerie. Patrons of Learning, Patterns of Honour."¹ "*Amorum Emblemata*," by Otho Vænius, published in Antwerp in 1608, and dedicated "to the most honourable and worthie brothers William Earle of Pembroke and Philip Earle of Montgomerie, patrons of learning and chevalrie." Then again we have "*The General History of the Magnificent State of Venice*, collected by Thomas Fougasses, Englished by W. Shute, printed by G. Eld and W. Stansby, 1612, dedicated to the same "truly noble and worthie of all honour" brethren, "Knights of the Honourable order of the Garter."

Then we have "*St. Augustine or the Citie of God*. With comments by Jo. Lod. Vives; englished by J. H." Printed by George Eld in 1610, and dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, reprinted in 1620 by George

¹ There was another edition of the same work, so dedicated, imprinted by Andrew Hart and Richard Lawson, published in Edinburgh in 1608.

Eld and M. Flesher, dedicated to "the three most noble brothers William Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, and Thomas Earle of Arundel, two of the Lords of His Majesties most honourable Privy Councell, and Philip Earle of Montgomery, Knights of the most noble Order of the Garter. Grace and Peace in Christ."

Further we have "*Geography delineated forth in two books*, by Nathaniel Carpenter, printed by John Lichfield and William Turner, 1625"—two years after the Folio, it will be observed—the first volume dedicated to William Earle of Pembroke, the second volume dedicated to Philip Earle of Montgomerie.

It is unnecessary to give further examples, but I may just mention "*The Second Session of the Parliament of Vertues reall for better propogation of all true pietie*," by Joshua Sylvester, dedicated to the Rt. Hon. William Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain. Not dated.¹

It appears, therefore, that instead of its being a most striking and exceptional honour that books should be allowed to be dedicated to these two Earls, their names appeared as the "dedicatees" of a large number of works of the period. Now it is well known that at that time great and distinguished men were wont to pay large sums to authors for the honour and distinction of seeing their names, with high, and, sometimes, very much exaggerated tributes to their merits as patrons of Learning and Chivalry and all good things beside on a dedication page. It was, in

¹ I am indebted to my friend, Mr. William T. Smedley, for this list of works dedicated to "the Incomparable Pair," and he had others so dedicated in his marvellous library of fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works and MSS.

fact, by these means that the publication of a large number of expensive works was financed. And thus, as I think there is no doubt, it was with the Shakespeare Folio. It was published not for "gain" but for "glory," or, at any rate, for a most honourable motive—the instruction and edification of mankind. It was not paid for by purchasers, who were few and far between, but rather by the proceeds of the Dedication, together with the contributions of lovers of literature—of whom it is quite reasonable to suggest that Lord Bacon was in all probability one, whether or not he had any share in the authorship of the plays. A fulsome dedication to great and distinguished men was the means of launching many a valuable work which would not otherwise have seen the light.¹

The question remains : Are these two sole authentic portraits of "Shakespeare," the bust and the Droeshout engraving, at all alike, the one to the other, bearing in mind that, as Mr. Spielmann tells us, they purport to show "the skull of the same man, who, in the engraving, is some twenty years or so younger than him [*sic*] of the Bust" ?

On this matter Sir Sidney Lee writes : "There is considerable discrepancy between the two ; their main points of resemblance are *the baldness on the top of the head*, and the fulness of the hair about the ears."²

¹ Mr. Spielmann, by the way, says that the "Incomparable Pair" had known *the Poet* and were perfectly familiar with his appearance. This is likely enough, but whether they had much knowledge of, or acquaintance with William Shakspeare of Stratford—the man whom the Burbages, in their Petition to the survivor of these illustrious brethren, but twelve years after the publication of the Folio, described as merely a "man player" and a "deserving man," one may certainly take leave to doubt.

² *Life*, Illustrated Ed., 1894, p. 234.

Well, two bald men always resemble each other so far as their baldness is concerned, so we may cheerfully admit the baldness and the fulness of the hair about the ears as the "main points of resemblance." Nevertheless, that very distinguished lawyer, the late Mr. Charles Elton, Q.C., an unexceptional witness in such a matter, says: "The bust is so unlike the Droeshout print in the First Folio . . . that the presentments might well belong to different persons."¹

Mr. Spielmann, however, is of an entirely different opinion. After telling us that of all the multitudinous alleged portraits of "Shakespeare" only these two, the Stratford bust and the Droeshout engraving, "possess actual authority," he proceeds: "It is curious that both of them have been strongly attacked; in the first place by *the haters of 'The man from Stratford,'* and in the second—so far as the bust is concerned—by persons so unversed in matters of *iconography* as to be misled by characteristic inaccuracies of the early hack-engravers. *The touchstone of resemblance between the two lies in the shape and bony structure of the skull—one complementing and confirming the other.*"²

We may pass over "the haters of 'the man from Stratford'" with a smile, only regretting that such a man as Mr. Spielmann, whose personal courtesy I have had reason to appreciate, should give vent to "anger insignificantly fierce" by making a remark at once so foolish and so untrue. He knows, of course,

¹ *William Shakespeare, His Family and Friends* (John Murray), 1904, p. 232.

² See Mr. Spielmann's lecture on "Shakespeare Portraiture," delivered at King's College, on May 4th, 1923, and reported in *The Times* of May 5th. (*Italics mine.*)

perfectly well, that those who disbelieve in what I may call the "Stratfordian" authorship of the plays and poems of "Shakespeare," look upon "the man from Stratford," the events of whose life—real or imaginary—are set before us in the pages of Rowe, and Halliwell-Phillipps, and Sir S. Lee, although certainly not with admiration, at any rate, with perfect equanimity, and with entire tolerance and good humour. But he must needs satisfy his unreasoning prejudice by making two statements concerning them, both entirely devoid of veracity: first, that they are "haters of 'the man from Stratford'"; and, secondly, plunging still deeper into the mire of misrepresentation, that they, who love "Shakespeare" certainly quite as much as, and perhaps, even more than he does, are "*haters of Shakespeare!*" *Quelle pétulance!*

However, it is only charitable to leave such *inaniter dicta* for the delectation of the foolish and unthinking persons for whom they were presumably intended. Let us rather consider that "touchstone of resemblance" between the bust and the engraving which "lies in the shaped bony structure of the skull." Unfortunately this can only be appreciated by those who are versed "in matters of *iconography*." Now "Icon," we know, is an "Image," and, according to my *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, "Iconographer" means a "worshipper of images"! But of course, Mr. Spielmann does not use such an impressive word—"Iconography"—in *that* sense. He refers to those poor uninstructed people who are unable to appreciate "the outstanding fact that the forms [*sic*] of the skull [of the Droeshout engraving], with its perpendicular rise of forehead, correspond with those in the Stratford effigy," and that "this—the formation of the skull—is the definite test of all the portraits." It is thus

proved, against all scoffers or doubters, that "the Droeshout and the sculptured effigy show the skull of the same man, who, in the engraving, is some twenty years or so younger than him [*sic*] of the bust."

Thus, then, the matter is settled. We may now throw over Sir Sidney Lee's two "main points of resemblance," viz. "the baldness on the top of the head and the fulness of the hair about the ears." Let us trust to "Iconography"—"the forms of the skull with its perpendicular rise of forehead." And, verily, it must be admitted that both the effigies—bust and engraving—are even "super-high-brows," although the bust has the advantage in not having such an unnaturally enlarged and "hydrocephalous" forehead as the monstrous Droeshout engraving.¹

These, then, are your gods, O Israel! These twain are the real authentic and counterfeit presentments of the world's greatest poet and dramatist. That is proved by "the shape and bony structure of the skull." Well, after all, it is possible that they are meant to be representations, good or bad, of William Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon. *He*, at any rate, must have been known at Stratford. Mr. Spielmann informs us that the monument, containing the bust, was "set up by his family." As a fact, nobody knows when, or by whom, or at whose cost it was erected, but seeing that "the man from Stratford" was the supposed hero thereof, it was but natural that the sculptor who fashioned the bust

¹ Surely such a term as "hydrocephalous," meaning, as it does, "suffering from water on the brain," could only be applied to an effigy of the great poet by a "hater of Shakespeare!" Yet many of the orthodox, even distinguished critics, have not hesitated to apply it to the Droeshout engraving!

(even though the one that now stands there is in all probability not the original) should have endeavoured to fashion it, to some extent at least, in the resemblance of "the man from Stratford," or what he fancied to be such, after the man himself had been dead at least six years, and, possibly, many more.

Mr. Spielmann has presented us, for our edification, with several portraits of the ideal Shakespeare as conceived by modern artists, all, of course, very different from either the Stratford bust or the Droeshout engraving. Amongst others I would specially draw attention to the "Portrait of William Shakespeare (The Stratford Bust and the Droeshout Print collated) by Ford Madox Brown" (Plate 46). Upon this, after eulogising Professor Charles J. Allen's bust, to which I have already alluded,¹ as "dignified and convincing beyond most of the sculptured effigies of the Poet," Mr. Spielmann writes as follows: "Similarly inspired—but not, however, leaving wholly out of account the Janssen, Chandos and Hunt likenesses of Shakespeare, in spite of their relative unworthiness—is the finely realised ideal portrait by Ford Madox Brown, now one of the honoured ornaments of the Manchester Gallery." He adds that it is a "beautifully conceived and elaborated work," and that Dante Rossetti, as the artist told him, sat for the picture, of which Madox Brown himself wrote, in 1865, it is "an attempt to supply *the want of a creditable likeness of our national poet* [my italics] as a historian recasts some tale told long since in many fragments by old chroniclers."

But now behold a wonder and a portent! This Ford Madox Brown portrait is nothing more nor less than a reproduction, with some variations, of Van

¹ See p. 36, note.

Somers' portrait of Francis Bacon, which hangs at Gorhambury, and was engraved and published by Vertue in 1723.

I would ask the reader to look at Vertue's engraving of that portrait, or the engraving of it by James Fittler, A.R.A., which is prefixed to the 1803 and the 1826 Edition of Bacon's works (in ten volumes), and he will see that this undoubtedly is so.¹ Of course there are certain differences. Ford Madox Brown's model stands rather to the right of the observer, while Bacon, in the Van Somers portrait, stands rather to the left. Ford Madox Brown has endowed his ideal Shakespeare with hair under the sides of the jaw, although there is no such hair on the Droeshout print, or on the Stratford bust (Spielmann, Plate 9) ; and although both the "ideal Shakespeare" and the Van Somers portrait have a more or less pointed beard, the beard of the former is not made to join the moustache as in Bacon's case. Had this been done, it would have been obvious to all that the modern artist had taken the Van Somers portrait for his model. Moreover Ford Madox Brown has so far followed the bust as to make the moustache of his "ideal Shakespeare" curl up as does that of the bust. But taken altogether, the resemblance between the Van Somers portrait of Bacon and Ford Madox Brown's ideal Shakespeare is really most remarkable. Each model has bushy hair hanging around the ears ; each has, as I have already said, a moustache and more or less pointed beard ; each has a high domed forehead, though the artist has rather exaggerated that of his ideal Shake-

¹ The "Worthington" engraving, published by William Pickering in 1826, is much inferior, because it cuts out part of Bacon's right arm and hand and part of the left hand and of the paper upon which it lies.

speare ; the hands of each are placed strikingly in the same position, though the modern artist has placed "Shakespeare's" right hand on a table where Van Somers has placed Bacon's left hand, and allowed "Shakespeare's" left hand to lie as Bacon's right hand lies. Each is dressed in very similar fashion. Each wears a ruff, and the laced cuffs at the end of the sleeves are also most strikingly alike ; the faces of each bear a remarkable resemblance, and the eyes of each gaze upon the observer in the same piercing manner. But the two portraits must be looked at together in order to enable the observer to appreciate the resemblance. He will see that had Ford Madox Brown been himself a "Baconian" he could hardly have painted a more "Baconian" Shakespeare ! Moreover, to use Mr. Spielmann's own words, "the outstanding fact remains," viz. that the forms of the skull, with its perpendicular rise of forehead, correspond with those in the Van Somers portrait ; "and this—the formation of the skull—is the definitive test of all the portraits."¹ As my friend Mr. William T. Smedley, who first drew my attention to this striking resemblance, truly observes, the artist seems to have taken the Vertue print and reversed it. "The pose of the figure, the positions of the arms and hands, the pattern of the lace round the cuffs are identical."²

¹ *Work cited*, p. 33.

² He adds : "Even if the artist was not what is termed a Baconian, and wished to paint an idealised portrait of Shakespeare in 1850 (six years before the Baconian authorship of the plays was mooted), what more likely than that he should take the portrait of Bacon as his model ? I do not think that any one can look at the Madox Brown picture and the Somers engraving and have any doubt but that this was what he did." But perhaps the spirit of Bacon was present and guided the hand of the unconscious Brown ! He certainly

In the year 1593 the name "Shakespeare" first made its appearance in literature, subscribed to the dedication of *Venus and Adonis*. Now many of us are entirely convinced that that name "Shakespeare" was not just one form of the name of "the man from Stratford" (who, by the way, never himself wrote his name in that form), but that the author of the work in question, and of *Lucrece* which followed in the next year with a dedication signed with the same name, was a man of high social position, who desired to conceal his identity under a pseudonym. In 1598 plays were published in the name of "Shake-Speare," which hyphenated form was very frequently employed after that time. "Shakespeare" or "Shake-Speare" was a name to conjure with. Many plays admittedly not Shakespearean were published in that name, or as by "W. S.," and few critics will deny that some of the plays, or parts of plays, attributed to "Shakespeare" in the Folio of 1623 were not really written by him.

Now, in course of time, the authorship of these plays and poems became, as it appears, attributed to Shakspeare of Stratford,¹—how, or why, or to what extent, is a question which cannot be entered into here—but, this being so, some persons conceived the

made "an ideal Shakespeare"! Whether his picture in any way resembles Dante Gabriel Rossetti, I am unable to say. But, obviously, the artist when called upon to draw an ideal picture of "Shakespeare" thought he could not do better than take a portrait of Francis Bacon as his model.

¹ Not, however, it would seem, by his fellow-players, to whom he was only a "deserving man" and a "man-player." See the petition of the Burbages to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the survivor of the "Incomparable Pair," in 1635. (*Vide: Is there a Shakespeare Problem?* John Lane, 1916, p. 364.)

idea of setting up a monument to him at Stratford, and it is contended that the bust exhibited in that monument—the “Sensuous disappointing effigy,” with “its plump earthliness”—is fashioned, or intended to be fashioned, in his likeness, and, further, that the engraving with the “hydrocephalous” head, published in the Folio of 1623, was also intended to be a likeness of this William Shakspeare of Stratford.

Be it so. Stratford is welcome to its “Incomparable Pair” ! What we, *the lovers of Shakespeare*, seek for is a portrait, if such indeed exists save that which our mental vision supplies us withal—even without the aid of “iconography”—of the true “Shakespeare,” whose monument is not either in alabaster, or marble, but in his immortal works ; the man who could truly say with Horace, and with far better warrant than Horace :

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius.

NOTE A

Since the foregoing pages were written, we have been treated to yet another surprise. Early in August, 1924, I sent the following letter to the Editor of *The Times Literary Supplement*, which appeared in that journal on August 7th of that year:—

THE STRATFORD BUST OF SHAKESPEARE

SIR,—As everybody knows, the Stratford bust of Shakespeare shows us the head of a man wearing a moustache, carefully trimmed and curled, but shaved in a peculiar fashion, so as to leave a hairless interval between the base of the nose above and the top of the upper lip below. Neither the Droeshout engraving, nor any other alleged portrait of Shakespeare, so far as I know, presents us with this peculiarity, and I have often asked whether there is any portrait, print or engraving of *an Englishman*, before the year 1616, showing a moustache shaven in this curious manner?

Mr. Spielmann, in his recent work, *The Title-Page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays*, gives us as a parallel a print of "Maurice, Prince d'Orange (1567-1625), to illustrate the fashion of wearing the moustache, as in the Shakespeare effigy." Now I have long been familiar with an engraving of this Prince wearing a moustache so shaven—though not in such a dandified manner as that of the Stratford bust—in the British Museum, subscribed "Henricus Hendius delin. et excudit, Hagæ Comit: 1630," and there are others similar; but I have never been able to find one of an Englishman, of the date in question, so elaborately shaved and trimmed on the upper lip, though I have inspected a large number of prints and

engravings of the period at the Museum, and I cannot help thinking that had Mr. Spielmann known of any such he would hardly have gone to Holland for his parallel. I may, of course, be entirely mistaken, but my impression is that this fashion of shaving the upper lip did not come into vogue in this country before the time of the later Stuarts, and possibly not before it was adopted by some of the young dandies of the Court of Charles the Second. If I am wrong in this may I hope that some of your better informed readers will, very kindly, correct me, and give me a reference to some of the portraits that may enlighten my ignorance? I have already consulted some high authorities on this subject, but have not been able to get any help.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE GREENWOOD.

This elicited a letter from Dr. W. A. Shaw, of the Public Record Office, accompanied by a reproduction of an alleged portrait of Shakespeare, dated 1609, which the learned writer asserts, as will be seen, to be "the only one in the whole range of Shakespeare portraiture which can lay claim to be genuinely contemporary with the poet!" That letter runs as follows:—

(See *T.L.S.* of August 28th, 1924.)

THE STRATFORD BUST OF SHAKESPEARE.

To the Editor of The Times.

SIR,—The question raised by Sir G. Greenwood, in his letter published on p. 489 of the *Literary Supplement* of August 7, is one of great interest in connexion with Shakespeare portraiture. The poet's moustache was quite singular, and it forms a feature of great value as a test of authenticity of portraiture. I enclose a print of a portrait dated 1609, in which the peculiarity of this feature is plainly shown. From this it will be seen that Sir G. Greenwood's reading of the intention of the Stratford bust

is a little incorrect. *The moustache is composed of two quite separate halves which do not meet at all in the centre, but from each side run up almost to the nostrils.* On the ground of technical method and pigment the portrait in question is the only one in the whole range of Shakespeare portraiture which can lay claim to be genuinely contemporary with the poet. It therefore forms a valuable confirmation of the authenticity of this feature of the Stratford bust. It is not a little remarkable that this feature also lends tremendous strength to the case for the authenticity of the Garrick Club terra-cotta bust. Even a casual comparison of the photograph here reproduced¹ with the reproduction of the Garrick bust as in Sir S. Lee's *Life of Shakespeare* reveals an absolute identity of details and features and measurements. Whatever the history of the Garrick bust, I have not the slightest doubt as to its truthfulness and authenticity.

WM. A. SHAW, Litt.D.

Public Record Office.

Upon this, thinking, very naturally, that Dr. Shaw's newly produced portrait of Shakespeare was supposed by him to be evidence in support of the "authenticity" of the Stratford bust *as it exists to-day*, I wrote pointing out that "the fashion of wearing the moustache exhibited in this interesting print is entirely different from that shown in the Stratford bust, as also from that seen in engravings of Maurice, Prince of Orange, one of which is reproduced in Mr. Spielmann's recently published work," since in Dr. Shaw's portrait, as he himself observes, "the moustache is composed of two quite separate halves which do not meet at all in the centre, but from each side run up almost"—the print shows that he might have said "quite"—"to the nostrils," whereas in the case

¹ The letter was accompanied by a print of the portrait in question.

of the Stratford bust the moustache is *not* "composed of two quite separate halves," but, on the contrary, runs across the upper lip in one unbroken though narrow band, and does not "run up to the nostrils" at all, but leaves a shaven space between the nostrils and this narrow band, as, also, between the narrow band and the upper lip. (*T.L.S.*, Sept. 4th, 1924.)

This, to my surprise, produced a letter from Dr. Shaw in the following terms:—

"Sir George Greenwood's concluding letter in your issue of the 4th inst. makes it clear that he is referring to the Stratford monument *as it is to-day*. In that case *cadit quæstio*, for *in its modern restored and mutilated condition, the bust is valueless as a testimony to the portraiture of Shakespeare*. Dugdale's original drawing of the monument and also the reproduction of that drawing in his '*Warwickshire*' is the only existing evidence of the original condition of the bust, and both agree in making the moustache to consist of two separate halves which turn down and not up. They also agree in showing the beard exactly as it is in the portrait reproduced in your issue of the 28th ult. *Here, again, the modern bust has been mangled out of recognition.*" (*"T.L.S.,"* Sept. 18th, 1924. Italics mine.)

Well, of course Dr. Shaw was right in thinking that I was "referring to the Stratford monument *as it is to-day*." I had no notion that he was in agreement with Mrs. Stopes in believing that the bust had been "restored and mutilated"—or rather, as I think he ought to have said, "mutilated and restored"—and that Dugdale's drawing, and the engraving in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, "is the only existing evidence of the original condition of the bust." I have, therefore, no quarrel with Dr. Shaw on that ground, though, as I have already shown, one must

admit that there are difficulties (I think, however, by no means insuperable ones) in the way of that hypothesis.

With regard to this newly produced "portrait of Shakespeare" Mr. Spielmann and Dr. Shaw are, of course, at loggerheads. The former writes that he was "distressed" to see the reproduction of it in *The Times Literary Supplement*, and declares that his "first glance" convinced him that "we have here yet another example of the work of the clever painter who has, within the past few years, been producing a considerable number of so-called 'Early English' and other portraits which have found a ready market at comparatively small prices." (*T.L.S.*, Sept. 18th, 1924.)

The latter retorts that "Mr. Spielmann's letter calls for only the briefest answer." For "to anyone who is acquainted with the genuine English work of the sixteenth century, there can be no question of copying or reproducing." He then proceeds to give his reasons for this opinion at some length, and concludes by the statement that "no real expert ought ever to be at a loss in this field." (*T.L.S.*, Sept. 25th, 1924.)

It almost seems, therefore, that Dr. Shaw has the temerity to suggest that Mr. Spielmann is not a "real expert"—a thing imagination boggles at! But it is a very pretty quarrel as it stands, and we may be well content to "leave it here." *Non nostrum tantas componere lites.*

Let us now examine this new "portrait of Shakespeare" as reproduced in *The Times Literary Supplement*, for which Dr. Shaw makes such very high claims. Is this, really, the portrait of "Shakespeare"? *O qualis facies, et quali digna tabella!* Look at the

lips, look at the expression ! Alas, if this be a portrait of the author of *Hamlet*, and if any confidence is to be placed in physiognomy, we can only say that the author of *Hamlet* appears to have been a most egregious oaf ! But this, we know, cannot have been so. Let us console ourselves, therefore, by the thought that it may be only a counterfeit presentment of William Shakspeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon, apparelled in gorgeous array, possibly for some theatrical display ! For we, lovers of "Shakespeare," can never bring ourselves to believe that the great poet of our admiration had a face so stupid, and so little worthy of homage, as that which appears in this really ridiculous effigy.

In conclusion I need only add that my appeal in *The Times Literary Supplement* of August 7th, 1924, for some example of an Englishman before the year 1616, who is depicted in some contemporary print or engraving as wearing a moustache shaved and fashioned as is that of "Shakespeare" in the Stratford bust, *as it is to-day*, has, with one exception, been left unanswered. That exception was a letter addressed to the Editor of *The Times*, who kindly forwarded it to me, bearing date August 30th, 1924, signed E. S. Fryer, and written from "627, Colina Lane, Santa Barbara, California, U.S." In this letter the writer refers me to an engraving of a portrait of the "Rt. Hon. Charles Blunt, Earl of Devon, Baron Mountjoy and Knight of the Garter," which is to be found facing page 264 of the second volume of *The Itinerary of Fynes Moryson*, published by James Mac Lehosé & Sons of Glasgow, MCMVII. I at once, therefore, referred to the work in question, where I found, at the place indicated, an engraving of an alleged portrait of this Lord Mountjoy, by an unknown artist, and by an anonymous engraver, subscribed "are to be sold by Henry Balam

in Lombard Street." But whether or not this be an engraving of an authentic portrait of the then Lord Mountjoy it is unnecessary to inquire, for it represents a youth wearing a small moustache fashioned in a manner entirely different from that worn by the "Shakespeare" of the Stratford bust *as it is to-day*, and, in fact, "composed of two quite separate halves which do not meet in the centre but from each side run up to the nostrils." It is the difference between a straight line and two lines which meet to form an angle !

My question, therefore, still remains unanswered, and I am fortified in my suspicion that Mr. Spielmann was unable to discover any portrait of an Englishman, before the year 1616, wearing a moustache fashioned as that worn by the "Shakespeare" of the Stratford bust *as it is to-day*, and was "fain therefore to go to Holland for an example, to wit in a print of "Maurice, Prince d'Orange (1567-1625)." But that is no proof of any such ridiculous custom having existed in England before the death of William Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon. If, therefore, this fashion of wearing the moustache was only adopted in this country—so far as it ever *was* adopted—at a later date than 1616, the bust cannot be a true representation of William Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon, who, we must remember, was never represented as wearing a moustache so fashioned in any other of the numerous alleged portraits of him.

NOTE B

The reader may consult Article XIII of *Shakespeare's Environment*, by Mrs. C. C. Stopes (G. Bell & Sons, 1914), on "The True Story of the Stratford Bust," and her note at p. 346 concerning "Its Restoration in 1749," where she cites from the Wheler Collection, at Stratford-on-Avon, "a number of copies from the MSS. of the Rev. Joseph Greene, Master of the Grammar School." "The series," she tells us, "begins with the account of the reasons for the movement towards restoration." She commences with the following quotation: "As the generous proposals of the proprietors of the two greatest playhouses in the kingdom were kindly accepted and encouraged, in relation to each of them acting a play for the sole purpose of erecting a new monument to the memory of Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey, and as *the curious original monument and bust of that incomparable poet*, erected above the tomb that enshrines his dust in the Church of Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire, *is through length of years and other accidents become much impaired and decayed*, an offer has been made by the judicious and much esteemed Mr. John Ward and his company to act one of Shakespeare's plays, viz., *Othello*; or, *The Moor of Venice* (in the Town Hall) at Stratford on Tuesday, the ninth of this instant, September, 1746, the receipts arising from which representation are to be solely appropriated to *the repairing of the original monument aforesaid.*"¹

¹ The italics in the above quotation are mine.

Mrs. Stopes sums up as follows : " I may now remind my readers that by 1746 the ' curious original ' was ' much impaired and decayed,' a decay so serious as to rouse the actively sympathetic feelings of Mr. John Ward towards necessary restoration. The fact is recorded that Mr. John Hall was to have the doing of the work of ' repairing and re-beautifying ' or ' the direction ' of it. But that ' materials ' were to be used."

" My arguments are these. No one would call the present tomb a ' curious ' one ; but as represented by Dugdale in his *Antiquities of Warwick* (1651) it is ' curious,' a curiousness which had increased by the process of decay, when Rowe produced it in his *Life*, 1709. Mr. John Hall, acting in all good faith, after provincial notions of restoration in the eighteenth century, would fill up the gaps, restore what was missing, as he thought it ought to be, and finally repaint it according to the original colours, traces of which he might still be able to see in the hollows of the bust. It would only be giving good value for his money to his churchwardens if he added a cloak, a pen, and manuscript. He could not help changing the expression, from the worn and thoughtful face preserved by Dugdale, to the plumped-out foundation he made in some ' material ' convenient for his re-beautifying colours. . . . I myself consider Dugdale and his draughtsmen wonderfully careful for their period. Those tombs which have not been altered are remarkably faithful representations. See, for instance, the tomb of Sir Thomas Lucy at Charlecote. Now Dugdale was a Warwickshire man, born only a comparatively short distance from Stratford, eleven years before Shakespeare died. He was an admirer of Shakespeare, and knew the bust he engraved. He was in Stratford in attend-

ance on Queen Henrietta Maria when, at the outbreak of the Civil War, she stayed in Shakespeare's house as the guest of his daughter, Mrs. Hall.¹ There was every reason to believe that he would be more careful in regard to representing Shakespeare's tomb [*sic*] (instead of less careful) than he was with others."

"The second edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire* was revised, corrected, expanded, the illustrations *checked*, and added to by Dr. Thomas, who was also a Warwickshire man, residing very near Stratford-on-Avon. And he produced the representation of the original tomb [*sic*] from the same unaltered block which Dugdale used. There is, therefore, little reason to doubt that Dugdale was fairly correct both in the face and figure of the 'curious monument,' and that the alterations made in 1748-9, great as they are, did not strike the gentlemen of Stratford-on-Avon as anything *worse* than 'beautifying.' The dates and verses were left as they were, and the monument, thus strengthened, survives to preserve the memory of the 'Sweet Swan of Avon'!" (See also p. 122 of the same work.) The following letter addressed to me in July, 1913, by Mr. W. L. Goldsworthy, solicitor, from 14 Ser-

¹ This sentence conveys the idea that Mrs. Hall was so kind as to invite the Queen to stay with her at New Place "as her guest"! Sir Sidney Lee writes: "The Queen and her escort reached Stratford on the 11th (1643), and *Mrs. Hall was compelled to entertain her for three days at New Place.*" The Queen had "left Newark with an army of 2,000 foot, 1,000 horse, some 100 wagons, and a train of artillery." Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 509. To talk of the Queen thus billeting herself, and her entourage, on Mrs. Hall as "no small honour" to Shakespeare's daughter, and a "high compliment" paid to her by the Queen of England, as does Sir Richard Barnett, in a letter to *The Times* of September 12, 1925, is manifestly absurd.

jeant's Inn, is, I think, of sufficient interest to be added to this final note, to which I have also added some further comments on the letter by Sir Richard Barnett, M.P., which appeared in *The Times* of September 12, 1925, as mentioned in the note below.

14, SERJEANT'S INN,
FLEET ST., E.C.
6th July, 1912.

"THE MYSTERY OF SHAKESPEARE'S MONUMENT."

DEAR SIR,—In yesterday's *Morning Post* Mr. Andrew Lang has an article under the above title in which I notice your name is mentioned. In case you may think of sending a reply I would suggest as an important point for your consideration that Mr. Lang omitted to deal with perhaps the most important feature of the revelations unearthed by Mrs. Stopes from the Wheler Collection at Stratford.

This is that the Rev. Mr. Kenwick, the then Vicar and who may be regarded as perfectly disinterested, contended for two years with the Rev. Joseph Greene, the Master of the Free School, the former insisting upon the extremely important and significant point that John Hall, limner, the person entrusted with the so-called "restoration" in 1748/9, should be tied down by express instructions in writing signed by him, upon due compliance with which his pay was to depend, "that the monument shall BECOME as like as possible to what it was when first erected." Greene strenuously opposed the honest Vicar and ultimately unfortunately carried his point, so that no such writing was signed by Hall, and he and Greene were in consequence left to do as they pleased with the monument.

It is quite impossible to believe that Kenwick would have quarrelled for two years with an important person in his congregation over such a question as the mere restoration of a broken finger; and moreover the effect of the work done was to totally destroy the evident allegorical

meaning of the original design as given by Dugdale, which was doubtless what Greene desired.

It is extremely likely that the famous Jordan was a pupil of Greene's at the Free School, and he may even have drawn his ideas with regard to forgery from this transaction, and followed the example set by his master. At all events if we may rely upon Dugdale the present monument may be regarded as the first Shakespearian forgery.

Yours faithfully,

W. LANSDON GOLDSWORTHY.

G. G. GREENWOOD, Esq., M.P.

P.S.—It is a curious and sinister fact that Dugdale and the Wheler Collection should have been successfully boycotted by all Shakespearians prior to Mrs. Stopes.—
W. L. G.

Sir Richard Barnett, in his letter to *The Times* of September 12, 1925, to which I have already alluded, asks, with reference to William Shakspeare the player, "How many of our *jeunes premiere* to-day have made their fortunes at 33, and can return to their native town and buy the best house in it?" But does Sir Richard really think that "Will" made his money as an actor? What says Nicholas Rowe, his earliest biographer? "His name is printed, as the custom was in those times, amongst those of the other players, before some old plays, but without any particular account of what sort of parts he used to play, and, *though I have inquired, I could never meet with any further account of him this way, than that the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own Hamlet!*" No, it was not as an actor, but as owner of shares in the Globe and the Blackfriars, as a purchaser of land, houses, and tithes, as a moneylender, and, perhaps, as an "honest broker" of plays, and, it may be, as agent for men in high position who

wished to preserve anonymity, that William Shakspeare (who, as we are told, wrote "for gain, not glory!") raised the money which enabled him to buy New Place and his property in Blackfriars. Then again, asks Sir Richard Barnett, "how did it come that in an age when players were anathema to all right-thinking people [which statement is so far from the truth that it can hardly have been penned seriously] Shakespeare the actor and his wife were buried before the high altar of the glorious collegiate church of the Holy Trinity?" Whereupon Sir Richard himself supplies the answer, viz. that "Shakespeare the capitalist" had bought the tithes of Stratford and two other parishes, and was entitled to burial in the chancel "as lay rector." One is reminded of the old epitaph:

"Here lies I at the church door,
Here lies I because I'm poor.
At the further end the more you pay,
But here lies I as warm as they!"

William Shakspeare's widow was also buried in the chancel of "that glorious church," but not in the same grave as her husband, although we are told she wished to be buried with him. Why was this? Because of that vulgar curse which, so little to his credit, he had ordered to be inscribed upon the stone under which he is supposed to lie (*Lee's Life*, pp. 486-7). I noted with some amusement that although Sir Sidney Lee, in a letter to *The Times* of September 14, 1925, complimented Sir R. Barnett on his enthusiastic contribution of two days previously, he preserved a judicious silence with regard to the Honourable Member's supposed facts!

POSTSCRIPT

BY the kindness of Mr. W. F. S. Dugdale, of Merevale Hall, the "lineal descendant" of Sir William Dugdale, to whom Mr. Spielmann alludes in the footnote to page 21 of his recent work, I have once more (viz. on October 21, 1925) had an opportunity of inspecting and comparing Dugdale's original drawing of the Stratford Bust, and the engraving thereof in the first edition of his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*. That the original drawing is by Dugdale himself is not disputed, either by Mr. Spielmann or any other critic. It is in his own notebook which contains many other drawings by him of monuments, heraldic designs, armorial bearings, etc., and is surrounded by notes in his own handwriting. Mr. Spielmann who, as already mentioned, dismisses this important fact in a curt footnote, writes that "the plate departs in details from the sketch," and that both the sketch and the engraving "are libels on the original." That last statement, of course, begs the question of what Dugdale's "original" really was. With regard to the "details" there is really very little difference between the plate and the sketch. In both the monument is surmounted by two little nude boys, one holding an hour-glass, and the other a spade, but it may be noted that these figures are better placed and poised in Dugdale's original than in the engraving. They certainly differ *in toto* from the small boy figures which are now seen on the monument at Stratford, and,

as I wrote many years ago, they are placed "as no monumental sculptor would be likely to place them."¹ Let us therefore admit that Dugdale's sketch, and the engraving taken from it, are erroneous in respect of these little urchins, "perched insecurely," as Mr. Spielmann says, "on the edge of the cornice." We will admit, therefore, that the "details" are defective. But this is really not a question of "details." The whole question hinges upon the central figure of the monument. Here we see both in Dugdale's original drawing and in the engraving, an elderly man, with drooping moustache, and hair under and surrounding his chin, resting both his hands upon a cushion very much in the form of a bolster. Mr. Spielmann waxes humorous over this. He tells us that the engraving "shows us a sickly decrepit old gentleman, with a falling moustache, much more than fifty-two years old." Now it is true that the figure has a falling—i.e., drooping—moustache, and that the face leaves an impression of melancholy, but there is nothing whatever to show that the original was either "sickly" or "decrepit," and unless Mr. Spielmann, among his other great gifts, which we so much admire, is endowed with some special power of diagnosing the age of a man, or rather of a graven image, it is extremely difficult to see how he can take it upon him to pronounce that Dugdale's original, as he appears in the sketch and the engraving, must have been "much more than fifty-two years old," at which age, of course, William Shakspeare of Stratford departed this life in his native town.

But Mr. Spielmann waxes still more humorous over the Dugdale engraving. "Do sculptors," he facetiously asks, "in their monuments, represent the great

¹ *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* (1908), p. 247 n.

departed in their dying state, pressing pillows to their stomachs ? Yet both hands are here upon a cushion which, for no reason, except perhaps abdominal pains, is hugged against what dancing-masters euphemistically term 'the lower chest !' "

It is really delightful to find Mr. Spielmann as a humorist, and not for worlds would we deprive him of his little jokes. One might just observe, however, if it be permissible to quit the region of farce for that of fact, that Dugdale has not represented his model, whoever that model may have been, in a "dying state" at all. It is true that his figure differs very materially from the smirk, self-satisfied, fat-cheeked, well-fed, dandified figure that now does duty for "the immortal bard" in the monument at Stratford, but Dugdale's figure, as any unprejudiced observer can see, might well be that of a man between forty and fifty, nor is it true that the figure is "hugging" the cushion on which his hands are resting, for, again as any unprejudiced observer can see, the hands are resting quite lightly on that cushion, and there is no suggestion in the figure that the original is suffering pain, whether "abdominal" or otherwise. All this, though when Mr. Spielmann reads it to an admiring audience it will, no doubt, be followed by the word "laughter" (in brackets), is mere prejudice, and has really nothing whatever to do with the question at issue.

What is that question ? It is this. Can any reasonable man believe that Sir William Dugdale, a Warwickshire man, a practised draughtsman, well-acquainted with Stratford, and its Church, and the Monuments therein, and engaged in the preparation of a great book which was to be, as Mr. Spielmann writes (p. 14), "his masterpiece (up to that time) and to stand at the head of all county histories," could sit down—or stand,

for the matter of that—to copy the effigy of “Shakespeare” as it now appears in the Church at Stratford, and produce as a copy a figure so preposterously unlike his model as that which appears in his sketch that it could only excite the ἄσβεστος γέλως—the jeers and laughter of all Warwickshire men, and of all visitors to that Church? I assert with absolute confidence that no reasonable man could entertain such a belief, unless, indeed, his judgment was distorted by the *dementia Stratfordiana*, or unless he assumes that Dugdale, fraudulently and of malice prepense, and for no conceivable motive, concocted such a travesty of the figure which was before him, and which he was supposed to copy. But this latter hypothesis will, I take it, be accepted by no man or woman of sound mind and understanding. The conclusion, therefore, is obvious; namely, that the bust which Dugdale copied, whatever may have been the mistakes that he made with regard to the “details” of the Monument, was altogether different from the effigy which we now see in the Church at Stratford-upon-Avon.

G. G.

October, 1925.

MODERN EDITORS AND THE DROESHOUT ENGRAVING

(SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE)

SINCE the above pages were in print my attention has been directed to the new and improved version of the Droeshout engraving which appears as frontispiece to *The Tempest*, edited by Sir A. Quiller-Couch and Mr. J. Dover Wilson. This frontispiece is subscribed "The Droeshout Portrait from the First Folio 1623," and purports to be a reproduction of the picture as seen on the "Title Page" of that immortal work, but it really seems as if one of Mr. Spielmann's inaccurate seventeenth-century engravers had been summoned from the vasty deep to alter the plate and make it more presentable to the public.

In order to explain my meaning I would ask the reader to look at the numerous reproductions of the Droeshout engraving—there are some fifteen in all very usefully provided by Mr. Spielmann for our edification. On plate 18 he will find the "Title page of the First Folio as issued" in 1623, of course with the well-known print. On plate 21 he will find again "The Droeshout Print (First Folio)." On plate 22 we are confronted with "The Halliwell-Phillips 'Unique Proof' of the Droeshout Portrait." On plate 23 we find a photograph of the same "Unique Proof," showing, however, little more than the head considerably enlarged, which adds to its utility for

the critical observer. On plate 24 we see "The Malone Proof (by permission of the Bodleian Library)." And we have other reproductions on plates 25, 27, 28, 29 and 30, of this astonishing portrait, wherein, as Jonson tells us, "the Graver had a strife with Nature to out-do the Life"—a strife in which the Graver seems to have been eminently successful!

But let the reader consider any one of these "portraits" so generously exhibited by Mr. Spielmann—for choice I think I would select his plate 22 and plate 23—and he will notice a remarkable characteristic in which they all agree. On the left side of this very high-brow head (the right-hand side as seen by the spectator) he will see peeping out under our Shakespeare's lank hyacinthine locks the tip of the lobe of the poet's ear. It really seems a pity that the hair was not prolonged by the artist so as to hide this portion of the auricle, for not even the most enthusiastic admirer of the engraving could say that it is a beautiful object, being indeed somewhat quaintly reminiscent of an *appendix vermiformis*; but the fact seems to be that our great poet had a very pendulous ear, though hardly, one would say, an ear suitable for ear-rings such as are depicted in the "Chandos" portrait!

But now let the spectator look at the very end of this not very inviting piece of flesh. Here he will see a very remarkable feature. There is—and it clearly appears in all these fifteen copies—a very distinct and deeply marked line, descending around the jaw almost to the chin, and thus cutting off, as it were, the flesh that lies behind it. It is indeed a unique feature of portraiture which has suggested to some critical observers that "the figure" which we here "see put" was supposed to be wearing a mask, and, indeed, it can hardly be denied that such an impression is

produced. I do not assert, however, that any such suggestion was intended by the original "graver," but I do say that any pretended reproduction of the Droeshout engraving which omits these remarkable features, to wit, the bit of the pendulous auricle, and this curious strongly-marked and almost inexplicable dividing line—ought not to be put before the public as a true copy of that portentous print.

And now let us examine the supposed copy as presented to us by Sir A. Quiller-Couch and Mr. Dover Wilson. The observer will find that the lower part of the left side of the head—on the observer's right—has been thrown into deep shade, thereby differing from all the plates provided for our inspection by Mr. Spielmann. It is true that a tiny morsel of the pendulous lobe is allowed to appear, though so softened down as to be almost, if not quite, inoffensive, but quite inexcusably the strongly marked "dividing line" to which I have alluded, and which is such a remarkable feature in the original engraving, has been omitted altogether, or, what comes to the same thing, rendered entirely invisible. There is just one other observation to be made concerning this misleading picture. The engraver, or his employers, seem to have been, very naturally, dissatisfied with that "hairy nothing" which in the original "portrait" does duty for Shakespeare's moustache, so they would appear to have referred to the "Flower Portrait," miscalled the Droeshout original (Spielmann, plate 20), which was painted at a later date by way of a much-needed improvement on that original, and though they have not endowed the immortal bard with quite such a luxuriant crop of hair on the upper lip as appears in that *soi-disant* portrait, they have given their figure-head quite a respectable moustache, albeit a

moustache which is, of course, entirely different from that which we see so curiously fashioned in the "Stratford Bust."

In a word, the supposed reproduction of the Droeshout Engraving provided for us by the Editors of this new so-called "Cambridge" edition of the *Tempest* is just an artificially improved version of the original, and quite untrustworthy. Needless to say I make no suggestion that the distinguished and honourable editors had any desire to present their readers with a picture so altered that it might give them a better impression of the (supposed) poet than that which is generally conveyed to all beholders by the stupefying Droeshout print, but, nevertheless, one is left to wonder by what inadvertence they came to sanction the publication of this very inaccurate—if less disagreeable—frontispiece.

Printed in Great Britain by
Butler & Tanner Ltd.,
Frome and London

PR 2929 .G7 1925

Greenwood, G. G. 1850-1928.

The Stratford bust and the
Droeshout engraving



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& A TERTIUM QUID

THE SHAKSPERE SIGNATURES
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